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PARTY GAMES

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If we did not know them for the cynical hacks which they almost invariably are, we might be inclined to feel sympathy for the journalists forced to sit through the proceedings. No doubt they are wise enough to take refuge in an alcoholic haze and thus feel obliged to justify their grossly inflated expenses at the Grand Hotel bar by providing some sensational copy. Consequently, it is easy to imagine that readers of the *Daily Telegraph* are at this moment frantically tearing up their plastic gnomes to erect barricades

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The sight of Benn—who in the Wilson Government symbolized the ruthless technocrat throwing men out of work in the interests of capitalist profitability—posing as the miners' comrade and the apostle of 'workers' control' was too much for anyone with a sensitive stomach. His campaign for a referendum on the Common Market issue obviously convinced him that his new-found 'populism' was a winner. It is not surprising that when politicians claim to be speaking 'for the people'—whether Benn on the Common Market, or Powell on immigration—they are engaged in a desperate bid for personal power. It is perhaps significant that both have failed to achieve their objectives in this direction?

Populism, without inverted commas and reflecting a sincere desire for 'power to the people', seems to me to be fraught with dangers which some of our comrades fall foul of for the best of reasons. However, we cannot afford to be blinded by naive romanticism; in a situation where anarchist and even vaguely libertarian ideas are not accepted by the majority of people anarchists **cannot** be populists for we have a primary responsibility to our ideals of freedom and brotherhood. The view of the majority is a consideration which must be left to the opportunism of the 'populist' politician or the 'revo-

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There is a defence of extremists and extremism from a very respectable conservative quarter, Barry Goldwater, ex-US presidential candidate, who said, 'Extremism, in the defence of liberty, is no vice.' On the other hand, Garrison defended extremism too in his rejoinder that nobody **gradually** extricates a child from the fire. However since no politician appears to write his own speeches any more (Mr. Wilson was reported to be baffled by one of his own historical references), it is quite possible that Goldwater's ringing phrase was coined by the speech-writer who defected to the American Libertarians (or capitalist-anarchists).

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Nora Beloff has probably got a little confused with the 'anarchist' pretensions of Trotskyist, Maoist and International Socialist supporters who, true to enterist tactics, and a love-hate relationship with the Labour Party, have become card-carrying members in the pious hope of 'making the left fight'.

There is a perfectly reasonable case for such 'anarchists' in search of power infiltrating the Conservative Party, in fact, judging by the Labour Party's performances when in office, the Conservatives (not only for their contributions to the theory of increasing misery) could be more worthy of enteritis. They, at least, never betray their true principles.

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It is highly probable that Edward Heath will have trouble with his extremists this week at Blackpool, but even Nora Beloff will not be able to claim as she does in the *Observer* (8.10.72) that anarchists have infiltrated the Conservative Party. She writes of Jack Jones 'trying to help Labour work out an alternative prices and incomes policy that will be more credible to the electorate than the Tory one' and goes on later

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The Conservatives have long had a tradition of anti-Governmental interference, except when such interference was beneficial to business. They are all against subsidies, unless they aid the expansion of business by providing capital; underwrite property-owning democrats by tax-reliefs on mortgages; or aid the renovation of twilight areas by injecting a healthy infusion of improvement grants. (The latter, alas! a grossly Socialist measure imposed by Mr. Greenwood.) Rugged individualism, whilst not worshipped so excessively as in American politics, is given due honour by such as Peter Simple and Peregrine Worsthorne—the terrible *Telegraph* twins.

Opposition to the Common Market within Tory ranks join with its Labour counterpart in a veneration for British democratic traditions and a British way of life which will be besmirched, lost, stolen or sent astray by 'going into Europe'. Like their Labour counterparts they cannot accept the fact that 'going into Europe' is the only way to preserve the capitalist system. Mr. Heath recognises that it must change to remain the same.

Mr. Enoch Powell, that gross extremist whose extremity consists in taking every idea to its logical conclusion (which in politics is **quite** illogical), denounced Mr. Heath's shadow of an idea on a voluntary wage and price freeze as inciting the lower-paid workers to line up for their practically-compulsory £2 a week increase. This, Mr. Powell alleges, will cause prices of sweated labour goods (not his description) to rise and price themselves out of the market. Mr. Heath will doubtless deny this.

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Since Beeching it has been the policy of all British governments, whatever their theoretical beliefs, to cut down on services which do not make a profit. This is due to ideology. According to capitalist theory that which does not make a clear, substantial profit should not exist. The fact that the value of some things cannot be expressed in money terms means nothing. The railways lose money, therefore, although socially useful, they must be destroyed.

The Blue Book says, 'There is no reason to assume that viability cannot be achieved. The search for a commercial solution should be continued.' If 'viability' cannot be achieved, in spite of everything, according to this ideology, the railways should be done away with, regardless of consequences. We are accustomed in the West to thinking of Communism as an intolerant ideology, which is imposed on everybody, no matter what the result, in defiance of logic and common sense. But Capitalism can be an ideology of the same kind.

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Fascist Tories

THE OBVIOUS collaboration between 'respectable' Conservative members of the Monday Club and the blatant fascists of the National Front was revealed at the recent anti-immigration rally in London. However, it is now clear that this kind of collaboration is taking place on an international scale.

Three young members of the Monday Club recently attended a youth meeting of the neo-fascist MSI (Italian Social Movement) at Montesilvano with their air fares and all expenses paid by the MSI. One of the visitors, Neil Hamilton, was until recently vice-chairman of the Federation of Conservative Students. MSI representatives visited the Monday Club in London a few months ago and invited the members to the youth conference.

Who says it couldn't happen here?

T.P.

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TERRY PHILLIPS.

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This is an example.

'In some situations,' the Blue Book says, 'local environmental disadvantages could be quite severe.' It advocates transferring 62 million tons of British Rail's 196 million tons of freight to the roads, as well as a good slice of passenger traffic, and admits that road accidents and unemployment would go up slightly, but this is quite acceptable.

'Finding an acceptable solution along commercial lines will not be easy, but the alternative appears to be to accept that, for social, economic, environmental or political reasons, major changes in the present railway system are unthinkable. This would mean that large and ever-increasing revenue subsidies to the railways would be inevitable. We do not see how the acceptance of this position could be justified.'

PARTY TO MURDER

It is, on the contrary, difficult to see how it could not be. Anarchists have for a long time advocated that the railways should be run as a public service. To us it seems completely mad, at this time, to throw yet more heavy goods traffic on the roads. What is even more disturbing is that the men who drew up this document can cheerfully accept an increase in the number of road accidents, some of which would of course be fatal. They are equally ready to accept environmental pollution and yet more unemployment. So in fact they are ready to

commit murder, and to play the part of vandals, as well as depriving people of their livelihood.

The present writer has already pointed out in FREEDOM's columns that it is ceasing to be true to say, as it used to be, that modern society is increasingly humane in peace, increasingly destructive in war. The mentality that the Americans are creating in Vietnam is now percolating through the whole of Western society, and the same brutalities are taking place in peace as in war. It is encouraging that this monstrous document has aroused protests, but will these protests lead to effective resistance? What form of action would the readers of FREEDOM suggest to save the railways?

JOHN BRENT.

IT'S ALL A PLOT

TOYNBEE HALL
LECTURE ROOM

— 7.45 p.m. —

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5

A Documentary Reading
presented by
Friends of Freedom
Admission 25p

Tickets from Freedom Press
Proceeds shared between
FREEDOM PRESS FUND
and
STOKE NEWINGTON
EIGHT FUND

Zapata Rides Again

IN MEXICO it has been too quiet for too long. The Revolution has gone sour. The Institutional Revolutionary Party, which is in fact about as conservative as any political party can be, has been in power for 45 years. It may not stay in power all that much longer. History may repeat itself.

Throughout the colonial period, the Indian *peons* cultivated their *ejidos* or common lands. They also shared, in common, the grazing grounds and the water supply. But in 1856, a law called the *Ley Lerdo* was passed, dividing the *ejido* lands in 'fee simple' rather than leaving them as communal holdings. The Indians, unused to private ownership, fell easy victims to unscrupulous officials who often sold the land to *hacendados*—the great landowners.

Under Díaz, who also was in power for a very long time, the robbery of the *peons* began in earnest. Many of the villages, which had managed to hang on to their *ejidos*, now lost them. Indians, who had lived on them since before the coming of the European, were asked to prove legal titles to the land. When they could not, as was usually the case, the land was put up for sale. Government officials granted water and irrigation rights to development companies or owners of immense *haciendas* and plantations. Then the village water supplies were cut off. The land soon became a dust bowl, and was abandoned. If all else failed, the *peons* were attacked by the *rurales* (former bandits who had become policemen) and the villages destroyed by fire.

POVERTY AND RICHES

As the better lands passed to the wealthy *hacendados*, *ejidos* became so small that many families were reduced to two or three furrows. By 1909, half of Mexico belonged to fewer than 3,000 families. The remaining half was largely uninhabitable. One estate in Chihuahua, owned by the State Governor, covered 7,000,000 acres! Many *hacienda* owners did not really know the actual extent of their estates. Moreover, they paid almost no taxes.

The Mexican Indian, during the Díaz régime, existed in a condition of brutish misery, unmatched by the workers or peasants of any other country. Indeed, the much-observed sadness of the Mexican *peon* was the result of his scant and deficient diet based on corn, chiles and *frijoles*. Even his *pulque*, with its high alcohol content, did not help. Indians starved on the central plateau of Anauac, where the Aztecs and the Mayans had enjoyed a régime of plenty!

During the 1880s and 1890s, Díaz encouraged the flow of foreign capital. Money from the United States, Britain

and elsewhere poured into the country. Vast sums were invested in railroads, silver mining and oil production. American capitalists also owned great sugar, coffee and maguey plantations. Naturally, emphasis on industrialisation increased the already clearly defined differences between rich and poor. In co-operation with foreign interests, Mexico's economy was controlled by a small group of businessmen and financiers.

By 1904, however, there was evidence—somewhat tenuous at first—of economic instability. The banks had been indulging in speculation; and institutions authorised to issue bank notes were particularly at fault in over-issuing. Not surprisingly, between 1907 and 1910, inflation was rampant. Such a situation affected both the *peons* and the industrial workers of the towns and cities. Many *peons* could not even afford to buy clothing! Yet during the period, there was no ascertainable rise in wages to meet the increased prices. However, despite repression, independent working-class activity did begin to make itself felt after 1900.

REVOLUTION

Anarchist and syndicalist propaganda began, albeit on a limited scale as only about 20 per cent of the population could actually read. By 1900, a large number of anarchist, syndicalist and radical papers began to circulate in limited numbers. The most outstanding of these was *Regeneracion*, published by the militant anarchist, Ricardo Flores Magón, his two brothers, Enrique and Jesús, and a small but energetic anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist group of Mexicans and Spaniards.

By 1906, industrial disputes broke out. The first one was in the State of Sonora, at Cananea. The miners at the Green Consolidated Mining Company, encouraged by anarchist propaganda, demanded a minimum daily wage of five pesos, an eight-hour day, equal pay for equal work with the American employees and a demand that three-quarters of the labour force should comprise Mexican workers. The company refused to grant the demands, the US Government sent in troops and the Americans shot twenty strikers. Later, again after Magón had published a manifesto, the textile workers of Veracruz, Tlaxcala and Puebla struck. Again, the workers' demands were rejected and, after the workers had attacked the mills, company stores and managers' homes, Federal troops were brought in, and 250 workers were shot by Army firing squads.

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THE RIO TINTO-ZINC CORPORATION LIMITED ANTI-REPORT, Counter Information Services, 10p (?).

THE GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY LIMITED ANTI-REPORT, Counter Information Services, 25p (?).

THESE REPORTS are enough to make one's blood boil. Rio Tinto-Zinc is of course by now notorious as an exploiter of South African black labour, a polluter of South Wales and a menace to Snowdonia. The tone is set by one of the heads of the organisation, Sir Val Duncan, 'I could see that in any country that was unwise enough to have submitted to Adolf Hitler and the horrors he perpetrated on the Jewish community we MIGHT have great difficulty in continuing.'

Rio Tinto-Zinc is run on an ideology of greed, thinly veneered with lies and humbug. It is engaged in systematically destroying the all too finite resources of our globe, driving people off their land by armed force and paying a miserable compensation, as in the Solomon Islands, poisoning the atmosphere, as at Swansea Vale, and using what is slave labour in all but name, as in South Africa.

The only thing which counts is profitability. In the anti-report on the GEC there are the following quotations:

'People are like elastic, the more work they have to do the more they stretch,' Sir Arnold Weinstock, *Financial Times*, 27.5.69;

'Making more money is the only measure of more efficiency,' Sir Jack Scamp, *Personnel Management*, Septem-

ber, 1969;

'Weinstock's technique is to pick people and squeeze them until the pips squeak,' one of Weinstock's managers, *Sunday Times*, 4.7.71.

While Rio Tinto-Zinc helps the South African regime to develop its own nuclear bomb, by financing the mining of uranium in Namibia, GEC helps the Americans exterminate the Vietnamese. *The New Scientist* reported, March 1972, 'There are eight British firms directly involved in producing material for use by US forces in Vietnam', these included 'General Electric (Elliot Automation)—engines displays, and computers for light attack aircraft used in spotting and napalming.' Needless to say GEC exploits its workers ruthlessly.

The spirit of the East India Company, Cecil Rhodes and other like villains is still very much alive today. But in our time public relations experts are employed, so hypocrisy is added to villainy. Also nowadays technological power is much greater, and at the rate present developments are going Rio Tinto-Zinc and GEC may do a great deal to destroy our planet and perhaps wipe out all life on it.

JOHN BRENT.

There is some confusion over the price. In the letter which accompanied the two anti-reports the price of the Rio Tinto-Zinc pamphlet is given as 10p, but no price is printed on the cover. The GEC pamphlet has the price of 25p printed on the cover, but in the letter the price is said to be 15p. The address of Counter Information Services is 52 Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.1, telephone: 734 8862.

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without indemnification of all *hacendados* who opposed his Plan. Together with a number of other 'chiefs' from various villages in the State, he began to build up his Liberation Army of the South.

By 1915, much of southern Mexico was controlled by the Army of the South. It was not, however, a conventional army, but more of a loose federation of guerrilla bands under the 'command' of General Zapata. To a large extent, the *Zapatistas* were a people in arms. They first drove the landowners out, then they took over the lands and began to cultivate them; then, if attacked, they took their guns from their huts, and went out to harass the Federal troops, often blowing up their trains. Despite its occasional forays into Mexico City, the Liberation Army of the South was primarily defensive. Its aim was to defend the land which—rightly—belonged to the people.

Zapata was not an intellectual anarchist, though he was more literate than many writers suggest. He was familiar with Magón's views, and had read at least some pamphlets or articles by Kropotkin, but he did not consider Mexico to be ripe for an anarchist or 'communist' revolution. His ideas can best be summed up by quoting a few of his statements. 'Seek justice from tyrannical governments not with your hat in your hands, but with a rifle in your fist'; 'The land free, the land free for all, land without overseers and without masters, is the cry of the Revolution'; and 'I want to die a slave to principles, not to men'.

THE AFTERMATH

By 1919, after eight years of struggle,

the Army of the South had dwindled from over 80,000 in 1915, to perhaps 10,000 at the beginning of that year. Nevertheless, the *Zapatistas* were still able to make life very difficult for the Government. On April 10, 1919, Emiliano Zapata fell into a trap and was killed. Some *Zapatistas* continued the fight for about a year, but the Revolution was largely over. For many years, however, Indian *peons* refused to believe that Zapata was really dead. They would tell people that they had seen him, mounted on his great black gelding, riding across the hills and mountains. For many, Zapata still rides. And, indeed, he does!

The more Mexico has changed, the more it has remained the same. Many of the Indians still starve as they did under Díaz. The Mexican Government today is one of the world's most repressive. The rich are getting richer and the poor are getting, if not actually poorer in the absolute sense, relatively poorer. Millions of urban workers are without proper sanitation, water, electric lighting or gas. Over 70 per cent of Mexican children still suffer from malnutrition. And, just like in the days of Díaz, Mexico is a businessman's paradise. But the *Zapatistas* are riding again. The revolutionaries are on the move. Last February, Genaro Vázquez, leader of one revolutionary guerrilla group in the South, was killed by Federal troops. His place has been taken by a former school-teacher, Lucio Cabañas, whose forces have recently ambushed Federal troops and have killed a score of them before disappearing into the wilderness. In the

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One hopes that *Siren* will go on from strength to strength.

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As Anarchists, we know, that the answer to the problems that beset man cannot be found in those philosophies that perpetuate the problems, namely the myths of the state, the myths of the benefits of fascism, state socialism, state communism or, as it's called by our Washington bureaucracy, 'the new federalism'.

Anarchism is not another name for chaos, but the term for self-regulation, and that is accomplished without the need for the non-productive politician, using the state as the figure of god, in which all are demanded to have faith.

I have no faith in the state, for it is an agency which can bear no final responsibility for the results of the bureaucracy's orders—only men can be held responsible for their own actions, never a non-human manufactured myth, which is the state.

And, when men are forced to bear the unjustified responsibility for another's action—it can only be termed another form of slavery.

The voluntary association of men, in work, in trade, and in life—is what anarchism offers.

Those of us, who describe ourselves as Anarcho-Capitalist, have much in common with those of you who represent themselves as syndicalists.

For if our understanding of anarchism is correct—to permit each man to associate or withdraw from association, in

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PRESS FUND

Contributions

September 28-October 4 inc.

London, W.9: B.C. £1; Leeds: T.K. 20p;
Croydon: K.E. 20p; Harvey, Illinois,
USA: R.C. & R.A.C. £6.57; London:
London Anarchists (from meeting at 'The
Sun', Drury Lane) £1; Wolverhampton:
J.L. 40p; J.K.W. 10p; Blakeney: J.G. 15p;
Glasgow: Anon. £3; London, S.E.13:
T.U. 13p; Anon. 6p; Dublin: P.S. 15p;
In Shop: L.W. 18p; R.A. 47p; New York:
L.M. £2.20.

Total: £15.81

Sales (Voline): £2.00

TOTAL: £17.81

(1) INCOME FROM POSTAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND SALES (Target for 1972—£4,500)

Amount received
to October 4 £2,312.36

(2) PRESS FUND CONTRIBUTIONS (Target for 1972—£1,500)

Amount received
Sept. 28-Oct. 4 inc. £17.81
Previously acknowledged £998.61

TOTAL TO DATE £1,016.42

IT IS CLEAR that the Government is worried about the successful use of picketing during recent strikes. We are told and warned about the increasing growth of violence which has occurred during the strikes of miners, dockers and building workers. The mass media are giving these speeches the full treatment in what could be a prelude to a tightening up on the laws of picketing.

The Industrial Relations Act still allows workers to picket at their place of work for the purpose of peacefully persuading workers to work or not to work. This part follows the 1906 Trades Disputes Act, but adds that a picket may not visit a worker's home. Since the vast majority of unions are unregistered, an employer can, under the Act, take them to the Industrial Relations Court for picketing during a dispute.

Even though the law on picketing is vague and loose, pickets can easily be arrested for contravening other laws. Because of this the police can be very strict and place limitations on a picket that will make it virtually useless.

The statute book has an ample supply of laws which a keen police force can use to prevent effective picketing. They can, for instance, arbitrarily use the laws on obstruction of the highway. This is a favourite since it needs very little proof and any magistrate will take the word of the police rather than that of the defendant. Another is the more

ON THE PICKET LINE

severe Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act 1875. Under its Section 7, fines of up to £20 and/or three months in prison can be imposed on those found guilty of a list of offences. These include the obvious one of violence and intimidation, but also actions which are open to a great deal of interpretation, like persistently following a worker, or 'watching and besetting' either his place of work or home.

Clearly the authorities have enough laws on the Statute Book to deal with pickets. Strikers know from experience that the police always try to have the minimum number on the picket line. My own experience during the recent building workers' strike was that if you had ten men on an entrance, the police wanted four, if you had only four, they wanted two. If the police want to arrest a picket it is quite an easy matter. The police are only too willing to intervene between pickets and potential 'scabs' and ask them if they want to go to work. An escort is always provided for the faint-hearted 'scab'.

However the Government only shows concern when they feel that, despite ample laws to harass pickets, disputes

involving the extensive use of picketing have been successful. Both the miners and the building workers owe the success of their strikes to the wide and inspirational use of picketing. But successful picketing is often a matter of numbers, where the pickets outnumber the police. When it's a case of large numbers, as at Saltley gas works during the miners' strike, the local chief constable could only say, 'How can you arrest 10,000 people who are breaking the law?' On many occasions during the building workers' strike it was necessary to bring extra pickets on to the line to dissuade the 'lump' merchants from going to work.

However in attacking the violence of the pickets, people like Lord Shawcross, Chairman of the Panel on City take-overs and mergers and a former Labour Attorney, forgets the violence used by those crossing. He forgets the exploitation of the worker who, having 'nothing to sell but his labour', is sacked and discarded when the profit-seeking system no longer needs his services. He forgets all those who are killed at work.

If Lord Shawcross has his way, picketing would virtually end or become in-

effectual. He said: 'It was an unlawful combination of three or more people to carry out any commotion in a manner as to cause fear, alarm, courage and firmness very quickly become'.

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Towards Anarchism

IT IS A GENERAL opinion that we, because we call ourselves revolutionists, expect Anarchism to come with one stroke—as the immediate result of an insurrection which violently attacks all that which exists and which replaces all with institutions that are really new. And to tell the truth, this idea is not lacking among some comrades who also conceive the revolution in such a manner.

This prejudice explains why so many honest opponents believe Anarchism a thing impossible; and it also explains why some comrades, disgusted with the present moral condition of the people and seeing that Anarchism cannot come about soon, waver between an extreme dogmatism which blinds them to the realities of life and an opportunism which practically makes them forget that they are Anarchists and that for Anarchism they should struggle.

Of course the triumph of Anarchism cannot be the consequence of a miracle; it cannot come about in contradiction to the laws of development (an axiom of evolution that nothing occurs without sufficient cause), and nothing can be accomplished without adequate means.

If we should want to substitute one government for another, that is, impose our desires upon others, it would only be necessary to combine the material forces needed to resist the actual oppressors and put ourselves in their place.

But we do not want this; we want Anarchism which is a society based on free and voluntary accord—a society in which no one can force his wishes on another and in which everyone can do as he pleases and together all will

spirit of solidarity and initiative is a step towards Anarchism.

The problem lies in knowing how to choose the road that really approaches the realization of the ideal and in not confusing the real progress with hypocritical reforms. For with the pretext of obtaining immediate ameliorations these false reforms tend to distract the masses from the struggle against authority and capitalism; they serve to paralyze their actions and make them hope that something can be attained through the kindness of the exploiters and governments. The problem lies in knowing how to use the little power we have—that we go on achieving, in the most economical way, more prestige for our goal.

There is in every country a government which, with brutal force, imposes its laws on all; it compels all to be subjected to exploitation and to maintain, whether they like it or not, the existing institutions. It forbids the minority groups to actuate their ideas, and prevents the social organizations in general from modifying themselves according to, and with, the modifications of public opinion. The normal peaceful course of evolution is arrested by violence, and thus with violence it is necessary to reopen that course. It is for this reason that we want a violent revolution today; and we shall want it always—so long as man is subject to the imposition of things contrary to his natural desires. Take away the governmental violence, ours would have no reason to exist.

We cannot as yet overthrow the prevailing government; perhaps tomorrow

put at the disposal of all, shall be a progress—a forward step towards Anarchism. Always it should serve to enlarge the claims of the workers and to intensify the struggle; always it should be accepted as a victory over an enemy and not as a concession for which we should be thankful; always we should remain firm in our resolution to take with force, as soon as it will be possible, those means which the private owners, protected by the government, have stolen from the workers.

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And as the conscience, determination and capacity of men continuously develop and find means of expression in the gradual modification of the new environment and in the realization of the desires in proportion to their being formed and becoming imperious, so it is with Anarchism; Anarchism cannot come but little by little—slowly, but surely, growing in intensity and extension.

Therefore, the subject is not whether we accomplish Anarchism today, tomorrow or within ten centuries, but that we walk towards Anarchism today, tomorrow and always.

Anarchism is the abolition of exploitation and oppression of man by man, that is that abolition of private property and government; Anarchism is the destruction of misery, of superstitions, of hatred. Therefore, every blow given to the institutions of private property and to the government, every exaltation of the conscience of man, every disruption of the present conditions, every lie unmasked, every part of human activity taken away from the control of the authorities, every augmentation of the

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We cannot as yet overthrow the prevailing government; perhaps tomorrow from the ruins of the present government we cannot prevent the arising of another similar one. But this does not hinder us, nor will it tomorrow, from resisting whatever form of authority—refusing always to submit to its laws whenever possible, and constantly using force to oppose force.

Every weakening of whatever kind of authority, each accession of liberty will be a progress towards Anarchism; always it should be conquered—never asked for; always it should serve to give us greater strength in the struggle; always it should make us consider the state as an enemy with whom we should never make peace; always it should make us remember well that the decrease of the ills produced by the government consists in the decrease of its attributions and powers, and the resulting terms should be determined not by those who governed but by those who were governed. By government we mean any person or group of persons in the state, country, community, or association who has the right to make laws and inflict them upon those who do not want them.

We cannot as yet abolish private property; we cannot regulate the means of production which is necessary to work freely; perhaps we shall not be able to do so in the next resurrectional movement. But this does not prevent us now, or will it in the future, from continually opposing capitalism or any other form of despotism. And each victory, however small, gained by the workers against their exploiters, each decrease of profit, every bit of wealth taken from the individual owners and

progress—a forward step towards Anarchism. Always it should serve to enlarge the claims of the workers and to intensify the struggle; always it should be accepted as a victory over an enemy and not as a concession for which we should be thankful; always we should remain firm in our resolution to take with force, as soon as it will be possible, those means which the private owners, protected by the government, have stolen from the workers.

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Having overthrown the government and all the existing dangerous institutions which with force it defends, having conquered complete freedom for all and with it the means of regulating labour without which liberty would be a lie, and while we are struggling to arrive at this point, we do not intend to destroy those things which we little by little will reconstruct.

For example, there functions in the present society the service of supplying food. This is being done badly, chaotically, with great waste of energy and materials and with capitalistic interests in view; but after all, one way or another we must eat. It would be absurd to want to disorganize the system of producing and distributing food unless we could substitute for it something better and more just.

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effectual. He said: 'The whole thing was an unlawful conspiracy. Whenever three or more people gather together to carry out any common purpose in such a manner as to cause people of ordinary courage and firmness to be in fear, that very quickly becomes a riot.'

Mr. Carr, now the Home Secretary, has said the 'problems of violence, disorder and criminality are growing all the time and are taking new forms'. He went on to say: 'And there is industrial violence in the form of violent picketing which seems frequently to be inspired by people not directly involved in the dispute.'

Violence on picket lines is often blamed onto others because those in authority want to gain a sympathetic hearing from the trade union leadership. This leadership is worried about its image and have themselves blamed 'outsiders' or 'political groups' for disturbances.

The TUC are going to produce a picketing 'code of practice'. The Government are also thinking of means of codifying the law.

These moves can only mean further restrictions on picketing. Any arrangement between the TUC and the Government will not benefit the striker. A code could be drawn up which only restricted the unofficial picket. Such a code would be welcomed by many trade union leaders as well as the employers.

Past history shows that workers will get little protection by appealing to the State. Picketing, despite its many limitations, has proved an effective weapon in winning concessions from the employer. The examples of Saltley and at the Barbican in London in October 1967,* show that in the final analysis, it is the numbers that either the pickets or the police have, that wins the day. As with any action taken by workers, solidarity is the key to winning.

P.T.

*300 policemen, some using their truncheons, arrested and scattered a picket line to bring in 'scabs' to open up the 13-month strike-bound Myton site. (See FREEDOM, October 21 and 28, 1967.)

function. But because of this we do ignorance — refusing their learning to not allow our children to remain in read and write. Meanwhile we wait and struggle for a time when we shall be able to organize a system of model schools to accommodate all.

From this we can see that, to arrive at Anarchism, material force is not the only thing to make a revolution; it is essential that the workers, grouped according to the various branches of production, place themselves in a position that will insure the proper functioning of their social life—without the aid or need of capitalists or governments.

And we see also that the Anarchist ideals are far from being in contradiction, as the 'scientific socialists' claim, to the laws of evolution as proved by science; they are a conception which fits these laws perfectly; they are the experimental system brought from the field of research to that of social realization. **ERRICO MALATESTA.**

Zapata

Continued from page 2
cities, Tupamaro-like* groups are or-



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Zapata

Continued from page 2
 cities, Tupamaro-like* groups are organising bank raids and other activities. The seeds laid deep by Ricardo Flores Magón and Emiliano Zapata are, once again, bringing forth fruit.

PETER E. NEWELL.

*The Tupamaros operate in Uruguay, are about 10,000 strong, and are said to have about 100,000 active supporters. Younger Uruguayan anarchists and libertarians operate with, and in, their organisation.

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Wales: c/o P. L. Mare (address above).

N. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press.

The American Federation of Anarchists: P.O. Box 9885, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, USA.

S. Ireland: 20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.

University and Student Groups: c/o P. L. Mare.

Plastic Shop Stewards

Dear Comrades,

On October 2 tenants and trade union organisations took part in a demonstration in Liverpool against the increase in rents. On this demo there were twenty-four men from the Birds Eye factory in Kirkby. Twenty-two of these got letters from the firm telling them that they were suspended from work, and the other two men who were shop stewards received notice that they had been sacked. On Tuesday night (October 3), at a meeting of the Tower Hill Unfair Rents Action Group, a call was made for support on behalf of these men. It was agreed amongst some of the women at the meeting that they would organise pickets to go to the Birds Eye factory on the Wednesday morning in protest against the company's actions.

On Wednesday morning the pickets were organised, and phone calls were made to the Scotland Road and Bootle areas in Liverpool to ask the tenants' groups there for support. This they did. From 10.30 that morning the women, with some men, arrived at the factory gates and joined the twenty-four men, who had been laid off, and completely blocked off the road leading into the factory, which meant that all wagons and lorries had to go back to their depots.

The Liverpool dockers who were also informed about the company's action blacked all goods that were going to, or had come from, Birds Eye. At ten o'clock on the Wednesday night it was learnt that the two stewards had been reinstated and the suspension of the other twenty-two men had been lifted.

The shop stewards who were in the factory on that day were telling the workers that no one had been sacked. What kind of shop stewards' committee have they got in Birds Eye? With twenty-four men outside the gate they did nothing about it. They are definitely made of plastic.

So, on Thursday, October 6, the chairman of the Birds Eye Group, a Mr. Kenneth Webb, flew up from London to address the workers of the factory. To cut a long story short, he threatened the workers with closing the factory

down, and he did into the factory 'totally sinister' were manipulated. This is outside influence and babies in that the shop is fuming over the who were pro this is that the people are seen really are—pho

Twelve hundred Lucas combine pool are planned over the company Liverpool P.S. Tower starting from V

Irish Hospital Sweepstake

KILLINGS and counter-killings, accusations and counter-accusations, etc., go on unabated. The Unionists want Whitelaw to fail so that they can say 'I told you so' and start again even more brutally beginning by—to use their own delightful expression—'liquidating the rebels'. The IRA are also determined to do nothing to further any peaceful initiatives. They also want their own autocratic rule and nothing else, so this week I want to leave them all fighting and talk about the dreadful way the poor are treated as out-patients. I have been on the receiving end a lot since I broke my leg last November and I have been watching and taking notes. The hospitals all tell you, 'Oh, we have an appointment system now'. Quite, BUT they book every patient for the same time—9.30—and one quickly learns that, in fact, unless one is at the hospital by 8.30 one won't get seen at all, or only by a junior member of the staff AFTER he has returned from his luncheon.

Punctuality may be the politeness of princes; except in a few notable exceptions it is not that of consultants. Supposed to start their clinics at 9.30, they drift in at 10.15 or one I know (the surgeon I was under) NEVER arrived in until after 11, but the patients were not admitted if they came late. One sits on the hardest and most uncomfortable wooden benches you can imagine and one WAITS. I have seen old men and women nearer 80 than 70 with respiratory diseases sitting from 8.30 till after noon to be seen by the doctor for literally two minutes while he scribbles a useless prescription and adds one for a tranquilliser to keep them quiet.

I've read too many of the prescriptions dished out, while we have another long wait for the medicine, not to know the truth of this statement. Indeed, I flung a cat among the pigeons by writing a nasty article in one of our dailies

at all, and in a civilized society a doctor would have attended them in their own homes.

I see accident patients being given shots of anti-tetanus and penicillin without them knowing what they are receiving or being asked if they are allergic to the drug. When my own two broken bones in my foot and two torn veins were set, and my leg put into a huge plaster cast, I was just left to walk home alone as best I might, and not even given so much as an aspirin, and I was suffering from shock and in a lot of pain. I have seen a girl with a very badly burned leg and her arm swollen to the size of an outsize boa constrictor from some injection they had given her also just sent off, and, like me, she did not live on a bus route and had no way of getting home but on foot, and she so shocked she could hardly stand. I have heard rudeness to poor, ignorant, patients that one would not believe unless one had heard it with one's own ears from 19-year-old nurses and even from doctors. Elderly women having gynaecological examinations are submitted to a dozen students without asking 'Do you mind?' One knows the young must learn BUT a little explanation and time taken to get the co-operation of the patient would be well spent. People are dehumanised.

There are exceptions. My own oculist is early always, never books more patients than he has time to see properly, and treats one as an equal and an intelligent person. He knows, for example, that I go down and look everything up in the library, and with a twinkle in his eye he says 'You will find that on page 101 of Evan's so-and-so'.

Yet I ONLY JUST stopped a nurse filling me with penicillin by shoving her away physically when dropping in to have stitches put into my hand torn on a rusty nail. Neither she, the doctor nor the sister asked me, and

Whither Spain?

AS NEITHER Trotsky nor Trotskyism gained any influence on the course of revolutionary Spanish politics during the crucial 1934-38 phase, Trotskyists try to claim non-involvement in the myths of the revolution and maintain a platform of 'impartiality'. This is the course taken by Fernando Claudin in his article *Spain—the Untimely Revolution* in *New Left Review* 74. It is also the course partially taken by Pierre Broué in *Trotsky and the Spanish Revolution* from *Workers Vanguard* 10—the US Spartacists' monthly.

Claudin was a member of the Spanish section of the Comintern during the civil war and revolution and confines his criticism to Stalinism largely. Pedantically he defines the social-revolutionary groups in Spain. The Communists (PCE) had the international contacts and backing and the most detailed and elaborate plan which, unfortunately, Claudin tells us, was wrong. The broad popular front plan used in France could not be adapted to the unique Spanish case. There were also the Caballerists, followers of the 'Spanish Lenin', who had not a single idea, the CNT-FAI who couldn't tell bourgeois democracy from fascism, and the POUM which was small and compromised, a 'Trotskyist Bukharinite block', unable to perform the tasks of revolutionary leadership. The answer is inevitable. Trotskyism was the only solution to the slowing down of the revolution.

Having caricatured the parties and organisations as entirely separate entities, which is both historically incorrect and dangerously simplistic, Claudin gives us the detail he knows best, the progressive infiltration of the Comintern into the PCE, and the PCE into the government. The latter, of course, is already well discussed in Bolloren's *The Grand Camouflage*. The former is of rather minor interest.

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I've read too many of the prescriptions dished out, while we have another long wait for the medicine, not to know the truth of this statement. Indeed, I flung a cat among the pigeons by writing a nasty article in one of our dailies on this subject, and no doctor dared contradict me while the public rushed into print to back me up. I know that many of these old people have had to leave home at 7.30 and take two buses to reach the hospital on winter mornings, when they should not have gone out

shots of anti-tetanus and penicillin without them knowing what they are receiving or being asked if they are allergic to the drug. When my own two broken bones in my foot and two torn veins were set, and my leg put into a huge plaster cast, I was just left to walk home alone as best I might, and not even given so much as an aspirin, and I was suffering from shock and in a lot of pain. I have seen a girl with a very badly burned leg and her arm swollen to the size of an outside boa constrictor from some injection they had given her also just sent off, and, like me, she did not live on a bus route and had no way of getting home but on foot, and she so shocked she could hardly stand. I have heard rudeness to poor, ignorant, patients that one would not believe unless one had heard it with one's own ears from 19-year-old nurses and even from doctors. Elderly women having gynaecological examinations are submitted to a dozen students without asking 'Do you mind?' One knows the young must learn BUT a little explanation and time taken to get the co-operation of the patient would be well spent. People are dehumanised.

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Yet I ONLY JUST stopped a nurse filling me with penicillin by shoving her away physically when dropping in to have stitches put into my hand torn on a rusty nail. Neither she, the doctor nor the sister asked me, and I am allergic to it. Recently a woman died in a casualty department of one of our hospitals after just such an incident. We hardly NEED the bombs and guns to kill us off with such out-patient care.

H.

Occupied by Squatters

OCTOBER 2, 1972. . . . Over the past four days, three terraced houses in Southampton have been occupied by squatters. These houses have been or are in the process of being compulsorily purchased by the council to make way for the Portswood link motorway. However since a final decision by the Department of the Environment will not be made until mid-1973 these houses would stand empty till at least 1974 when work on the motorway is scheduled to begin.

As in most other towns the vast number of empty houses would adequately provide homes for most of the homeless people, but Southampton city council even goes so far as to deny their existence. Being homeless ourselves we felt that the time had arrived for direct action.

We propose to the council that:

- (i) We be given these houses at least until such time as demolition begins.
- (ii) We pay rates, electricity and gas bills and negotiate a rent and in return

be considered as tenants.

(iii) We be responsible for the upkeep and repair of the houses so that they do not become derelict.

What have the council got to lose?

The three houses we have occupied so far are all close together, the immediate area has been leafletted and the general reaction of the local residents is very favourable. In response to our leaflet they have provided us with an abundance of furniture, curtains, carpets, baby clothes, etc., and even cups of tea and bottles of beer. The last thing they want to see is the area run down by large numbers of houses becoming derelict and encouraging vermin and vandalism. Many also are active in their opposition to the motorway plans which deprive them of their homes.

We intend to occupy more houses in the near future.

All power to the people!

SOUTHAMPTON SQUATTERS' UNION.
74 Earls Road, Southampton

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This type of 'official' study, taking only the orders of the Comintern, POUM and CNT as the full history, completely ignores the autonomous actions of nearly all Spaniards in the Revolution. To place the parties side by side like balls on a billiard table is to ignore the people who created the parties and groups to begin with.

The conclusions of Claudin are slightly more refreshing even though they are in the context of Trotsky's continual demand from the POUM—a united revolutionary party. Claudin tells us that syndicalists and caballerists were moving towards a position where the revolutionaries would seize state power as 'War and Revolution were proving very rapid teachers'. But then Stalin cancelled the last lesson and the Revolution failed.

Broué is also confronted with the unenviable clash between Trotsky being 'right' in Spain but impotent. As the fine historian that he is, Broué builds up his argument slowly. He makes a hugely detailed analysis of the correspondence between Andres Nin and

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A Word of Warning

Dear Comrade

Following the lead by Dennis G. those living in who might their problem Rent Officer in to get their r

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down, and he didn't want politics brought into the factory again. He also spoke of 'totally sinister outside influences', who were manipulating workers at the factory. This is absolutely true. These outside influences were women, children and babies in prams. Also, it seems that the shop stewards at Birds Eye are fuming over the actions of these women who were protesting, and the reason for this is that they have been exposed and people are seeing them for what they really are—phoneys.

Twelve hundred workers in the Joseph Lucas combine at Fazakerly in Liverpool are planning a 'sit-in' as a protest over the company's threatened closure.

Liverpool ANDY MCGOWAN.
P.S. Tower Hill goes on a rent strike starting from Wednesday, October 11.

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Trosky after their split in 1934 up to Nin's murder in 1937 presumably. This is worth reading in itself, but it is sufficient just to quote Trotsky's sad conclusion: 'In spite of its intentions, the POUM was in the last analysis the principle obstacle in the path of a revolutionary party.' Broué does not leave it there:—

The impotence and mortal divisions of the Spanish Trotskyists, their tragic inability to orient in the path of revolutionary Marxism the groups of young socialists and libertarian militants like the *Friends of Durruti*, who were incontestably evolving in their direction, does not present a more attractive balance sheet than that of the POUM leadership.' Broué here is stating his disagreement with Trotsky over the broad-front policy, which was similar in some ways to the PCE leaders' ideas. The 'Spanishness' of the situation seems to Broué to outweigh the other aspects.

These two valuable contributions to the crucial 1937 January-May period are long overdue. What is still wanting however is a full explanation from a libertarian point of view of how the POUM seized its opportunity in early 1937, taking the revolutionary leadership, especially in the areas of dissatisfaction—the PCE and 'legitimist' CNT, and the remaining anarchists conceded their position, despite holding on to 'the gains of the July revolution'. The collapse of the growth of the long-promised 'libertarian-communism' is one of the still unexplained aspects of the Spanish revolution. All that has been said is that the CNT ministers, PCE and POUM 'disoriented' the tasks of revolution and substituted the civil war, which, as far as anarchists are concerned, is to accept the leadership dogma. I hope that someone clarifies this still vital point.

D.B.

A Word of Warning LETTER

Contact

Contact Column is for making contact! Use is free, but donations towards typesetting costs are welcome

Help Fold and Despatch 'FREEDOM'
Thursdays from 2 p.m., followed by discussion at 7.30 p.m.

Double Room Wanted or Small Flat.
Urgently required for editors (couple) of 'Libertarian Sunrise'. Approx. £8 p.w. Ask for Chris Hall, Education Dept., 636 1577 or leave message at 748 1407.

Volunteers Wanted, with theatrical experience preferred, for Anarchist project. Possibly November 5th, London. Quite legal and not a demo. Box 9, Freedom Press.

Corby, November 10. Public Meeting on 'Libertarian Education'. Speaker: Arthur Humphrey. Green Room, Civic Centre, 7.30 p.m. Contact Terry Phillips, 7 Cresswell Walk.

Libertarian Book Club Fall Lecture Series, Thursdays, 7 p.m., 369 8th Avenue at 29th Street, New York: October 26, Olga Lang, 'The Problem of Conscience in Russian Literature'; November 9, Terry Perlin, 'Anarchism and Elitism'; November 23, Judith Malina and Julian Beck, 'Anarchism and Organization'; December 14, Murray Bookchin, 'Ecology and Anarchism'.

Libertarian Women's Newsheet. Comes out once every three weeks. From 68 Chingford Road, E.17, 3p plus postage.

Subversity. Student magazine produced by ORA. Copies 5p plus postage. Neil Hunt, 104 Bishopthorpe Road, York.

Would any comrade buying a new vacuum cleaner offer the old one rather than trading it in. Freedom Press.

'The Immortal Temple' by R. C. van Orden. 'A challenging series of thunderous essays on Individualism!' \$5.00, Integrity Pub. Co., Dept. FRD, P.O. Box 305, Garfield, New Jersey, 07026.

Man with social conscience wanted to help in country care community. No wages. Hard work. Box 10 Freedom.

Catonsville R.R. on Technology, Social Control, Direct Action, Buddhists in Vietnam, etc. 8p monthly, 12 issues £1.25 from 28 Brundretts Road, Manchester 21.

London Anarchists meet socially in 'The Sun', Drury Lane (Bloomsbury end), W.C.2. Tottenham Court Road Tube. From 7.30 p.m. on Sundays.

Anarchist Calendars 1973, 10p each, 24p post from Kropotkin Lighthouse Publications, c/o Freedom Press.

'Black and Red Outlook', monthly ASA paper, on Ecology, Rock 'n' Roll, Stuart Christie on Special Branch

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'libertarian-communism' is one of the
still unexplained aspects of the Spanish
revolution. All that has been said is
that the CNT ministers, PCE and POUM
'disoriented' the tasks of revolution and
substituted the civil war, which, as far
as anarchists are concerned, is to accept
the leadership dogma. I hope that
someone clarifies this still vital point.

D.B.

A Word of Warning LETTER

Dear Comrades,

Following the article 'Rent Tribunals'
by Dennis Gould, a word of warning to
those living in privately rented property
who might think that the answer to all
their problems is to rush out to the
Rent Officer in the district in an attempt
to get their rent reduced.

Despite the fact that the Act (1968
Rents Act) was originally introduced by
a Labour Government to protect the
private tenant, several points are worth
bearing in mind. For both furnished
and unfurnished tenant any dispute will
go before a Rent Tribunal. These
usually consist of three people, usually
the Conservative lady, right-wing trade
unionist or any other 'pillar of society'.
It is unlikely that the Tribunal will be
sympathetic to the tenant's case—es-
pecially if long-haired, etc. The land-
lord will probably be more experienced
at appearing before the Tribunal than
the tenant (it is not unknown for land-
lords to know or be connected through
business with members of the Tribunal).

In view of the above it is not sur-
prising that in a study in Brighton—of
116 rent cases, 24 were reduced, 13 re-
mained the same and 79 were increased!!
It should hardly need repeating in an
anarchist publication that it is necessary
to be mighty suspicious of courts or
any of the trappings of this society even
if we are led to believe that they are
for the individual's benefit.

The Rent Tribunal can work for the
tenant but it is necessary to be very
careful—since when has the law been
on our side!

Fraternally,

HOWARD WILLIAMS.

Series, Thursdays, 7 p.m., 369 8th
Avenue at 29th Street, New York:
October 26, Olga Lang, 'The Prob-
lem of Conscience in Russian
Literature'; November 9, Terry Per-
lin, 'Anarchism and Elitism'; Novem-
ber 23, Judith Malina and Julian
Beck, 'Anarchism and Organization';
December 14, Murray Bookchin,
'Ecology and Anarchism'.

Libertarian Women's Newsheet. Comes
out once every three weeks. From
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Michael Tobin Defence Committee, c/o
265 Dale Street, Chatham, Kent.

Libertarian Aid Committee for the Hyde
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CLYDEBANK

Continued from page 2

TUCKER, LYSANDER SPOONER,
JAMES J. MARTIN, AND THE
FINEST OF THE ANARCHIST
ECONOMIST-HISTORIANS MURRAY
N. ROTHBARD (The panic of 1819,
Power and the Market, America's Great
Depression, and Man, Economy, and
State).

LIVE LONGER THAN THE STATE,
AND BETTER THAN ITS PROMISES.

BARRY S. PERLMAN.